

Who Is the Audience (and What Do They Want)?

Museum visitors are a diverse group of fairly well-educated, mostly middle-class people seeking a culturally oriented, leisure social outing. They come to the museum with a variety of interests, but despite their diversity, they have many expectations and needs in common.

As museums strive to increase attendance and reach new audiences (non-Anglo, nonaffluent, non-college-educated), the audience for exhibit labels will become even more diverse. Museum practitioners need not, however, become overwhelmed by the diversity of visitors' demographics, interests, and motivations. Although there is no such thing as "the average visitor," we have learned through visitor studies that there are such things as trends and patterns in a heterogeneous sample of visitors to a particular museum or exhibition.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND BEHAVIORAL SIMILARITIES

Museum visitors and their behaviors are surprisingly predictable in many ways. Given a representative sample, there are often many similarities in who they are, what they like, and how they visit at many museums.¹ For example:

- A significant proportion of visitors come for a social occasion, as a social group. Many of these groups include children.

- Gender ratios (percent males and females) are often not significantly different.
- Teenagers are underrepresented in many different types of museums.
- The most popular elements in an exhibition will attract a diverse cross-section of visitor types. When something “works,” it tends to work for many kinds of people.
- More people read short labels than long labels.
- If visitors cannot understand or personally connect with part of an exhibit, they will skip it.
- Visitors of all ages are attracted to exhibit elements that are more concrete and less abstract.



FIGURE 4.1

What's the most important thing in any exhibit? The visitors. Are they paying attention? Are they engaged? Do the exhibits help them feel competent? Whole-body interactives like this dynamic “shadow wall” at the Museum of Science and Industry get them started.

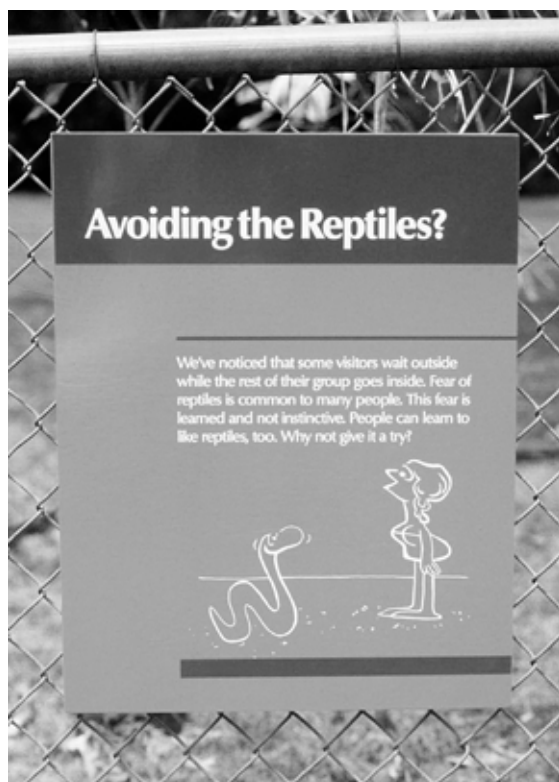


FIGURE 4.2
This label at the Honolulu Zoo says that the fear of reptiles is a learned behavior and that you can learn to like them. Labels that acknowledge visitors' preferences show that the institution knows its audience.

There are also some interesting, but not surprising, differences in types of audiences:

- There are more groups without children in art museums than in most other types of museums.
- Children are more likely to touch and manipulate interactives before adults.
- Children are less likely to read labels than adults are.
- Groups with children allocate their time differently than groups of adults only, although both groups may spend the same amount of time overall.

The most striking differences between types of visitors are age related, and these differences are primarily associated with children's uninhibited exploratory behavior. Children instinctively investigate things with their hands, but adults may need to be invited to touch and participate ("OK to touch").



FIGURE 4.3

Interactive stations work best when they are just as much fun for adults as for kids. This family is making string calendars at the *Dena'ina* exhibition at the Anchorage Museum.

Where adults seek structure or directions, children charge ahead without them.

UNIVERSAL HUMAN CONCERNS

Audience differences along lines other than age are more difficult to detect, probably because human adults are highly variable. Other than the characteristics noted above, there are few demographic trends that hold true across many types of museums. Many of the expected differences between subaudiences (e.g., group size, gender, or visitation patterns) that we think might be significant often turn out to be less so than expected. For example, when the Cleveland Museum of Art compared frequent and infrequent visitors, they reported, “We learned that even frequent visitors are not as familiar with the Museum, its art works, and art history as we had assumed them to be.”²

When the Canadian Museum of Civilization decided to make an exhibition about the life of Samuel de Champlain—one of the best-known and

most colorful figures in Canadian history—they anticipated that English Canadians and French Canadians would have different viewpoints about the topic. Results from their front-end evaluations showed that there were no appreciable differences. For other topics, however, the museum has found important differences. Assumptions about what the audiences know need to be verified or modified.

While every visitor's experience will be unique, experiences of human beings are governed by many factors that most of us have in common. Our diverse interests, intellects, and educational and economic backgrounds are all grounded in many fundamental similarities, such as the need for physical comfort and nonthreatening spaces, feelings of hunger and fatigue, and the desire for self-actualization through personal challenges. When these needs are met, we feel more competent and confident.



FIGURE 4.4

Twenty-first-century audiences appreciate revitalized dioramas with new interpretation, even ones that include the impact of humans on nature.

Museums must constantly be aware of these factors and integrate visitors' basic drives ("Where's the toilet?") before attempting to help them achieve higher levels of consciousness ("What the heck is that?"). We must also keep in mind the visitors' emotions, their yearning for continuity, love of a good story, ability to see and seek patterns, and natural spirituality. By keeping in mind the commonalities that unite the way our multicultural, multigenerational audience uses exhibitions, exhibit developers can have a more realistic basis for planning displays that will work for more people, and label writers will be gratified because their words will be read.

FIGURE 4.5
New labels for dioramas at the American Museum of Natural History address visitors' questions and direct attention to details.



CASE STUDY

NEW LABELS FOR OLD DIORAMAS

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In 2012, as part of a larger diorama restoration project, the American Museum of Natural History unveiled new interpretive labels in the Hall of North American Mammals.

The previous labels—some hand lettered, perhaps dating back to the hall opening in 1942—provided factual information but largely ignored narrative, leaving visitors to wonder what was happening in many of these dramatic scenes. In the Alaska moose diorama, for example, two enormous males fiercely butt heads while a female intently looks on; the old label began, dutifully, “Moose are found in suitable localities in northern Europe, Asia and North America.”

Today the Exhibition Department interpretation team, working closely with curators and in consultation with senior administration, writes all new museum labels. For this project, the writing team first launched an informal tracking and observational study to understand how people used the hall. The study revealed that visitors stopped at an average of ten of the forty-three dioramas but typically looked at only one or two labels—out of more than sixty. Clearly the labels weren’t working well.

To explore what people wanted to know, writers met with Education staff and volunteers who often worked in the hall and also set up temporary “question posts” at two dioramas, using sticky notes to compile visitors’ questions on poster boards. People wondered about the size, diet, and behavior of the featured animals as well as conservation status, which animals were closely related, and how the dioramas were made. A bright five-year-old asked, “Why are the moose fighting?”

In brainstorming sessions with the curator and a consulting mammalogist, the writers and graphic designers began hammering out new ideas for the labels. In general, the team advocated for more label hierarchy and shorter, discrete “chunks” of information, including brief introductions that would take their cues directly from the scenes. “Two gigantic males clash for the right to mate with a female,” the writer drafted as a new opening for the moose label. “Rival bulls will shove, clatter and twist their antlers, and even gore each other—sometimes for hours, and sometimes to the death.”

The project team wanted to retain some existing features of the labels, including scene keys—illustrations of the dioramas that identify noteworthy features—and range maps. New ideas included a block of “fast facts” with basic information on animal size and diet, illustrated sidebar stories, life-sized paw prints, and “look closely” prompts that challenge visitors to find hidden details in the dioramas. An artist created new line drawings of the featured mammals as well as many plants and simplified scenes to be used for each key. The museum’s photographers shot close-up details of each diorama to illustrate the call-outs on the keys.

After the team created prototype labels and put them up in the hall, small groups of visitors were invited behind the construction wall to give feedback to Exhibition and Education staff. Many of the new features were popular: Adults as well as kids gave high marks to “look closely,” “fast facts” made finding basic information easy, and the short sidebars had highly memorable information.

With this feedback in hand, the team turned to final label writing and design. Although many changes could be implemented, regrettably, some issues could not be addressed. One is the location of the labels. For all but the smallest dioramas, the labels have always been vertical and placed on either side of the scene—not horizontal and below the glass, where they would be more accessible. At the large dioramas, visitors must

walk away from the scenes in order to read the labels. But horizontal test labels cast a reflection onto the diorama glass, so the team had to stick with the two vertical labels: one with information about the mammal, and the other, usually, devoted to the habitat.

In other ways, too, the label design had to be careful not to violate the ambience of the historic hall. During prototype testing of the keys, visitors said that large, color photos with callouts were easiest to understand. But the museum chose black-and-white line drawings for the keys because they were less intrusive; color on the labels was kept to a minimum to showcase the dioramas. Giving the designers much-needed flexibility were new low-voltage LED light sheets, one behind each label, allowing the brightness of each label to be individually dimmed: The goal was to make the labels legible with no obvious source of illumination. But even dimly lit, the first prototype labels were, at forty-eight inches, thought to be too conspicuous. The team shortened them by about eight inches and thus cut the paw prints at the bottom. These had been intended specifically for young visitors but had not tested as well as other elements—but then, the team did not test the labels with as many children as adults.

An internal observational study reveals that visitors *are* now looking at and reading more labels—among English speakers, reading has increased 150 percent. Nearly twice as many visitors with children now refer to the labels, and while visitors stop at about the same number of dioramas, they are spending 30 percent longer in the hall.

WHAT ABOUT VISITORS TO “SPECIALTY” MUSEUMS?

A Jew, a Buddhist, and an agnostic walk into the Billy Graham Museum. The museum feels welcoming. Rather than being purely a shrine to Billy Graham—which might be appealing only to evangelicals—the exhibits are informative, engaging, and meaningful to all three of them. They have a really good time watching the old video of Billy Sunday and his whole-body



FIGURE 4.6

Exhibitions about previously marginalized groups can address specific issues and speak inclusively to broad audiences. *Out in Chicago* at the Chicago History Museum was developed with extensive community involvement and proudly included this display of dykes on bikes.

preaching; reading the letters addressed to “Many Apples Many Sodas” that still got to Billy Graham in Minneapolis, Minnesota; and having the experience of going to heaven (white clouds, blue sky, mirrors, Bach). They learn some amazing things about the history of the evangelical movement, and they leave feeling confirmed as human beings.

Museums that exist to celebrate a particular religious, cultural, historic community, or personality, product, or objet d’art are clearly targeting a specific audience. But those visitors are often in the company of others who may not share their enthusiasm or level of knowledge about the topic of the museum. Thus, the exhibits—to attract and hold the interest of a broader audience—must have some appeal to novices as well as to the specialists. So there is a socially motivated reason for museums to be more broadly appealing. There is a financial consideration as well. For the specialty museum to stay alive in the current economy and into the future, it needs to court the non-

believers and the next generation. The Studebaker Museum, the World War II Veterans Museum, and the Ukrainian Museum have to respond and adapt to the changes in the world—more so than, say, the Rattlesnake Museum and the Mustard Museum—to keep people coming in the doors.

SURVEYING VISITORS

Visitor surveys are a common means of finding out more about who the visitors are. But many of the questions asked do not illuminate the answers in ways that can help exhibition developers and label writers do a better job. Information about the visitor's zip code, income level, educational history, or gender offers the label writer little. More useful are visitors' answers to questions that relate directly to their understanding of and self-relevance to the exhibit's topic, such as, "Do you have any special interest, knowledge, or training in (the subject of the exhibition)?" Their feedback will reveal information about hobbies and other leisure activities and family history, as well as school- or job-related interests. These will give label writers the "hooks" to interest readers. For example, from data gathered in Chicago area museums,³ we know that the planetarium attracts visitors with interests in telescopes (not an unexpected finding) and surveying (a surprise). Visitors to the natural history museum often have pets, are bird watchers, and have taken courses in biology. Aquarium visitors like to go fishing, eat fish, and keep fish at home (fresh- and saltwater hobbyists). The maritime museum attracts people interested in shipwrecks, boat building, and boat operation. There are also specific interests that some visitors to a maritime museum, a planetarium, a natural history museum, and an aquarium have in common, such as antique collecting, scuba diving, navigation, and employment as a teacher. Including references in labels to the interests your visitors are most likely to have in common can make labels more appealing to more people.

Other ways to find out more about your visitors through front-end and formative evaluation strategies will be covered in chapter 18, "Evaluation during Development."

THE TRAP OF VISITOR TYPOLOGIES

Casual observations have led some people to believe that there are different types of visitors who can be identified by the way they use exhibitions, such as "streakers"—people who go through fast and stop at only a few elements;

“samplers” or “browsers”—people who spend some time, and stop at a few things that seem to interest them; and “studiers”—people who spend more than the average time, looking at one thing for a long time, or looking at lots of things.

However, much of what we know about visitor behavior in museum exhibitions is based, unfortunately, on poor examples of what effective educational exhibitions should or could be. Visitor typologies, such as “streakers” or “browsers,” have evolved based on watching visitors in exhibitions that encourage streaking, or that make browsing the most viable exploration tactic.⁴ The infrequency of “studiers” is not surprising given the propensity for displays with numerous, long, technical labels that discourage the reading behavior of adults, not to mention children.

There are several books that describe thinking about serving diverse audiences. Kathleen McLean, in *Planning for People in Museum Exhibitions*, makes this point: “If we want exhibitions to be truly engaging, then all exhibit professionals, not only the educators and evaluators, will have to be communicators and audience advocates.” McLean argues for ways to make exhibitions better for the public as well as for many ways to make the exhibition development process function better within museums.⁵

Lisa Roberts, in *From Knowledge to Narrative: Educators and the Changing Museum*, reviews the rise of professionalism of museum educators and its impact on the ways museums present knowledge.⁶ She contrasts the curatorial-positivist stance (“Here is our knowledge and truth for you to learn”) with a multiple-meanings context (“Here is what some people believe to be true”). This shift of authority—and the acknowledgment of uncertainties and disagreements about what we know—within museums, whether science, history, or art, is part of a larger academic questioning about our assumptions in every major discipline. Roberts credits museum educators for the trend in making exhibition narratives more inclusive: “It is educators whose sensitivity to visitors has brought them to question the comprehensibility, significance and voice of exhibit messages.”

MISUNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT AUDIENCES

There are five common assumptions about audiences that, I believe, do not enhance the goal of making exhibitions more effective, visitor oriented, and well used by diverse audiences. Although they may sound good on the surface, further scrutiny reveals some misunderstandings.

1. The assumption “Exhibit planners should decide which portion of the audience is most important to reach with each exhibit message, and communicate that message using media that appeals to that portion of the audience,” can easily lead to an exhibit with too many different messages. A better, more focused exhibit plan reads, “Exhibit planners should decide what the important exhibition messages are and communicate them using whatever media is most suited to that message, in a way that will reach the broadest possible audience.” While the intent—to appeal to broad audiences—for each of the above statements is the same, the implications for how to do it, and the potential for doing it successfully, are quite different. It works best when media are selected for their appropriateness to deliver the message, and each message is aimed to reach as many people as possible. Thinking about diversity should lead to inclusiveness, not exclusion.

2. The assumption, “All visitors will find something of interest to them if you put lots of information in labels in an exhibition,” is misinformed. Instead, it makes for an overwhelming environment dominated by walls covered by words, which will decrease visitors’ willingness, ability, and motivation to explore labels carefully. Given that most visitors have a limited amount of time to spend in an exhibition, visitors to a large, dense layout will find it difficult to experience a high proportion of it. Instead of feeling intrigued, satisfied, and energized, many visitors become overwhelmed and worn out. They will feel as if they need to come back again to “do it all” but probably have no intention of doing so. When you delete things that do not appeal to the broadest possible range of visitors—like labels with lots of text or complex and abstract topics—utilization of all elements can actually increase (see examples in chapter 7, “The Number of Words”).

When visitors get to select from a smaller array of elements, each of which is appealing, they spend more time doing something that is interesting to them. The experience will be, “Oh boy, another neat thing,” instead of spending time searching for something to connect with: “Nope, not that one; nope, not that one either.”

3. This assumption, “It is difficult to enable visitors to relate the subject to their lives and to examine their attitudes, values, and beliefs because most visitors arrive with limited time and knowledge about the subject,” simply passes the buck. More likely, it is difficult for visitors to relate because of the detailed, complex nature of the subject and because the exhibition is not geared to the

limited time and lack of specialized knowledge most visitors bring with them. Should we try to change the visitors (e.g., increase their visual literacy before they arrive, or bring them up to speed with an obligatory introduction video), or should we change the affordances of the exhibits themselves? To me, the latter seems far more within museum practitioners' area of responsibility.

4. Here's another common and especially pejorative assumption about visitors: "We must be careful not to take all exhibits down to the lowest common denominator. Shortening label copy to the point that virtually any visitor will read it denies the more sophisticated or repeat visitor the opportunity to learn more." It is hard for me to believe that some museum practitioners still think this is true. Have they ever closely watched visitors in their galleries and seen how hard they try to understand what is going on, and how they typically underutilize what is there? Have they ever surveyed their visitors for their prior visits, or knowledge, interest, and training in the subject, and seen what percentage of them are actually "sophisticated" or repeat visitors? Have they ever observed and listened to a focus group of visitors talking about their feelings of being intimidated, overwhelmed, or lost in museums? Have they ever tried out a mock-up of a label or interactive device with a small sample of visitors and seen that it did not work the first or the second time? Any one of these visitor studies will quickly dispel the notion that there is such a thing as a "lowest common denominator" and will make it clear that all of our visitors are worthy of our best efforts, and that we should always seek to please the *commonest* common denominators.

The key is to include sophisticated concepts as long as they appropriately support the big idea, and to be sure to use a nonexclusionary vocabulary.

5. Several researchers are promoting the idea that "visitors' motivations and identities will virtually predict their behaviors in exhibitions." Certainly these characteristics play an important role in determining visitors' choices to attend a museum or an exhibition, but we should not expect those characteristics to be immutable, especially if they find themselves in a stimulating, engaging exhibition with a meaningful topic geared for a broad audience. Regardless of how authentic the incoming types may be (and the museum can't change who they are before they come), the museum has the opportunity and responsibility for the environments these visitors encounter inside the doors.

I agree with the movie critic Roger Ebert, a populist, who said, “Everyone should get it.”⁷

THINK INCLUSIVELY

The tendency to subdivide audiences into “types” and pigeonhole them with stereotypic characteristics will not lead, in my opinion, to better, more thoroughly used labels and effective exhibitions overall. Predetermined categories of visitor behavior may not be as useful in exhibit design and evaluation as one might like. If exhibit developers would think about the whole audience as time-limited, motivated nonexperts, of which almost everyone is a nonsequential “sampler,” they would be much closer to the truth. The overarching challenge is to encourage more visitors to sample more exhibits and sample them for longer times. Assume interest.

Imagine an exhibition where the majority of visitors use the majority of available exhibit experiences—where children work with other children or adults, where adults talk and read out loud to each other and to their children, where visitors interact with others in different social groups, where people of all ages and learning styles are tempted to linger longer instead of rushing on to the next exhibit or exiting at the first opportunity. It is possible! Good orientation, a clear big idea, and good labels will all help make it happen, as timing-and-tracking studies found for topics as diverse as fossilized tree resin (*Amber: Window to the Past*), polar exploration (*Shackleton*), and swimwear (*From Bustles to Bikinis*).⁸

BUT WHAT DO THEY WANT?

Given that most exhibit elements and their labels are currently not used by the majority of visitors (Anglo, affluent, college educated, and otherwise), a radical transformation in label content and form is needed if we expect to enlarge our appeal both to current and broader audiences. This transformation can be guided in part by listening to what visitors say they want and what they feel the characteristics of ideal exhibitions are.

In a study by Alt and Shaw, visitors to the Natural History Museum in London compared old and new exhibitions and, in their own words, described what they thought contributed to the “ideal” one.⁹

Of the characteristics of ideal exhibitions listed below, more than half are directly related to labels that captivate and communicate quickly, easily, and clearly:

- It makes the subject come to life.
- It gets the message across quickly.
- You can understand the point(s) it is making quickly.
- There's something in it for all ages.
- You can't help noticing it.
- It allows you to test yourself to see if you are right.
- It involves you.
- It deals with the subjects better than textbooks do.
- The information is clearly presented.
- It makes a difficult subject easier.
- It gives just enough information.
- It's clear what you're supposed to do and how to begin.
- Your attention isn't distracted from it by other displays.

In focus group studies done at Brookfield Zoo in preparation for renovations of their bird exhibits, visitors discussed the positive factors that contributed to museum learning experience using these expressions and words:¹⁰

- It is memorable.
- It's an experience that involves your senses.
- You are gently guided to make discoveries.
- It is a personal experience.
- You get lots of opportunities to investigate and make observations.

The Denver Art Museum's interpretive project looked closely at its audience and what visitors wanted.¹¹ Researchers found that most visitors were "art novices" with high interest in art but limited art backgrounds. The novices' criteria for liking an art object were

- that it have a pleasing kind of beauty
- that it be very intricate and detailed
- that its message be understandable to them

For a moment, look at that list and think how it might apply to novices at any type of museum. Change art to history or anthropology or science and think about the pleasing beauty and intricacy of an animal, or a piece of rock, or an electric engine, and then think about the kinds of labels that would work in each case.

The findings from all three studies above have applicability to many other museums and situations. Most visitors are eager to learn, but they do not want to spend much time or effort in trying to figure out things. Good labels can attract, communicate, inspire, and help visitors get what they are seeking.

WHAT THEY DON'T WANT

The opposite experiences from what are described above by visitors would be exhibits that visitors never noticed in the first place or forgot about soon afterward. Visitors do not want exhibits that do not attract or involve them actively or personally; that are unpleasant, irritating, obnoxious, or crowded; that are authoritative, confusing, and condescending; that do not allow them to exercise their powers of curiosity and scrutiny; that are foreign, strange, boring, obvious, unclear, or overwhelming. The result? “Your labels make me feel stupid.”¹²

While few exhibitions have all these characteristics, these negative qualities exist in too many places. Most negative features, fortunately, can be eliminated through more careful planning (refer back to discussions of big ideas) and testing (discussed in the chapters on evaluation).

Visitors vote with their feet as they choose whether or not to spend time in exhibitions. If they find things they like, they stay longer. “What visitors bring to the exhibit determines the template onto which an exhibit can be expressed; but good exhibits can make this template sing!” say John Falk and Lynn Dierking, coauthors of *The Museum Experience*.¹³

Who is the audience? A self-selected group of semimotivated, time-limited, mostly first-time visitors, who are novices but are curious about the subject matter. What do they want? They are seeking gratification through feelings of competence and an enjoyable social experience. If you select elements and write labels for *them*, chances are you will satisfy the vast majority of your visitors.

THE AUDIENCE BRINGS THE EXHIBITS TO LIFE

Another way to think about audiences is to realize how they, as an entity, are a vital part of the fundamental purpose of museums as places that exhibit and interpret collections and phenomena. We talk about making exhibitions come to life for the visitors; what about the way *visitors* bring the *museum* to life? American artist Michael Asher expressed the visitor's role in activating the museum's purpose in an artwork at the Art Institute of Chicago for the 74th American Exhibition.¹⁴ Asher hired groups of viewers to stand in front of different paintings in one of the museum's permanent collection galleries. Asher's Chicago work *was* the viewing process—the intersection of the museum's presentation and the viewer's perception, neither one possible or complete without the other. When museums recognize and fully appreciate the audience's vital function, they become more willing to integrate new ways to meet the needs of visitors.

Current notions about diverse audiences stress the differences between people, who they are, what they want and need, and other factors that make



FIGURE 4.7

Artist Michael Asher captured the idea that audiences activate museum spaces in his exhibit at the Art Institute of Chicago.

these differences seem overwhelming. Yet within the diversity, there are also many similarities—which were the focus of this chapter. Some of the effective ways of satisfying critical differences in visitors' approaches to exhibitions are the subject of more attention in the next two chapters.

NOTES

1. Some of these trends are seen repeatedly in general museum visitor surveys. For more specifics, see articles by Judy Diamond, "The Behavior of Family Groups in Science Museums," and Randi Korn, "An Analysis of Differences between Visitors at Natural History Museums and Science Centers" and "The Relationship between Exhibit Characteristics and Learning-Associated Behaviors in a Science Museum Discovery Space," by Boisvert and Sleaz. Also see Steve Bitgood's special issue of *Visitor Behavior* on "Exhibit Labeling," vol. 4, no. 3 (1989).
2. John E. Schloder, Marjorie Williams, and C. Griffith Mann, *The Visitor's Voice: Visitor Studies in the Renaissance-Baroque Galleries of The Cleveland Museum of Art 1990–1993* (Cleveland, OH: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1993).
3. These data were from unpublished formative evaluation studies collected by Serrell & Associates over a variety of small samples.
4. Jay Rounds writes challenging articles that shed new light on old issues. See "The Curiosity-Driven Museum Visitor," *Curator: The Museum Journal* 47, no. 4 (2004): 389–412.
5. Kathleen McLean, *Planning for People in Museum Exhibitions* (Washington, DC: American Association of Science-Technology Centers, 1993).
6. Lisa C. Roberts, *From Knowledge to Narrative: Educators and the Changing Museum* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Museum, 1997).
7. Quote from the movie *Life Itself* about Roger Ebert.
8. Beverly Serrell, *Paying Attention: Visitors and Museum Exhibitions* (Washington, DC: American Association of Museums Press, 1998).
9. M. B. Alt and K. M. Shaw, "Characteristics of Ideal Museum Exhibits," *British Journal of Psychology* 75 (1994).
10. "Be a Bird Focus Group" (videocassette, Brookfield Zoo, June 1986).
11. Melora McDermott-Lewis, *The Denver Art Museum Interpretive Project* (Denver, CO: Denver Art Museum, Winter 1990).

12. Gail Gregg, "Your Labels Make Me Feel Stupid," *Art News*, Summer 2010, <http://www.artnews.com/2010/07/01/your-labels-make-me-feel-stupid/>.
13. John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking, *The Museum Experience* (Washington, DC: Whalesback Books, 1992).
14. Anne Rorimer, "Michael Asher and James Coleman at Artists Space," in *Michael Asher/James Coleman, June 2–July 2, 1988* (New York: Artists Space, 1988).